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ABSTRACT

This report discusses Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. The statistics, background readings, and case studies included in the report may provide useful information to educators and curriculum developers interested in Chinese and Asian studies. Contents include the following: (1) Hong Kong Demography; (2) History of Chinese Refugees; (3) Refugees: Refugee Status, Rationales for Leaving, Refugee Case Studies, Processing of Refugees, and Work Status of Refugees; (4) Hong Kong Government Policy; Departments of Immigration, Registration of Persons, Social Welfare, and Resettlement; and (5) International Policy: The United Nations and International and Local Aid. A bibliography of government publications, periodicals, and books from both the United States and China is also included. (Author/RM)

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THE CHINESE REFUGEES IN HONG KONG

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Chapter 1

Hong Kong Demography

The British Crown Colony of Hong Kong consists of ceded and leased land; permanent and temporary possessions. Hong Kong Island was ceded to the British Crown by China in 1841. Possession of Stonecutters Island and the Kowloon Peninsula followed in 1860. These are permanent holdings of the Colony, and they have a total area of 35 square miles. Beyond Kowloon, to the border of the People's Republic of China, is 355 square miles. Known as the 'New Territories,' which was acquired on a 99-year lease by the Convention of Peking in 1898.

Geographically, the colony lies within the tropics, just off the southeastern coast of China. Hong Kong Island is steep and rugged, and only 62 of the 391 square miles of the colony are suitable for occupation. The rest is either mountainous or swampy. Twenty-one per cent of the total area of the Colony is cultivated or arable land.[1] Of this, only 31 square miles or 7.8% are developed for housing, commercial, trade, industrial, and communication purposes. Only this percentage of land is available for the urbanization of the 1975 population projection of 4,377,400[2] - an average gross urban density of about 141,206 people per square mile, one of the highest in the world.

1

Hong Kong is still basically a free port. The textile industry dominates the economy, employing 40% of its industrial labor force. The economic and labor system is closely related to the nineteenth century pre-capitalistic period, more than any other place which is as highly industrialized, and not considered an underdeveloped area.[3] The workers are underpaid and are without any or adequate insurance and unemployment compensation. An average semi-skilled workman in 1966 earned 300-450 Hong Kong dollars a month. Working time is from 44 hours a week in Government offices or big Western private enterprises, to 70 hours a week in a normal Chinese enterprise - which means working ten hours a day the whole year round.[4] The government and financial centers are located on Hong Kong Island, and Kowloon houses the industrial center with wharves for ocean-going ships, the railway terminus, and the colony's airport.

Ninety-eight per cent of the population can be described as Chinese on the basis of language and place of origin. These can be divided into the following three groups:

1. Farming community, consisting of Cantonese (Punti) and Hakka people who have settled on the land for centuries.

2. Fishing community- a separate and the oldest group consisting mainly of Cantonese, Tanka, and Hanklo folk.

3. Urban community- predominately Cantonese, and cosmopolitan, including a large number of people from all over China and other foreign countries.[5]

Chapter 2

History of Chinese Refugees

Hong Kong has historically been a sanctuary for China's refugees. The first wave of immigration occurred during the Taiping Rebellion in the 1850's. Over 18,000 Chinese were driven southward across Kwangtung Province to find refuge in the British Colony of Hong Kong. The Chinese population doubled over a five year period, increasing from 20,338 to over 38,000.[6]

There was a similar movement in 1900 while the Boxer Uprising was in progress. Hong Kong's population increased again in the 1920's, largely due to Kuomintang extremist elements in Canton. Records of some three and a half million Hong Kong dollars paid for Crown leases in just Kowloon during 1923 indicates that these refugees constituted some of the wealthier people of China.[7]

Japanese aggression against China in 1937 marked another major high-water mark in the stream of immigrants to Hong Kong. The fall of Canton brought one half-million refugees to the Colony. At this time, the population was built up to a peak of 1,600,000. With the occupation of the Colony by the Japanese during World War II, the population dropped to 600,000. By the end of 1947, with the termination of hostilities, the population quickly passed

the prewar figure to an estimated figure of 1,750,000. In 1949 the People's Republic of China was established and hundreds of thousands of Chinese refugees fled to Hong Kong to escape the advancing Communist troops.

By the end of 1956, the population had increased to 2,400,000. Of this number, about 400,000 represented the return of former residents of Hong Kong, with a like number representing the natural increase of inhabitants during the period after World War II. Thus, the remaining balance of 700,000 were determined to be refugees from China.[8]

With the establishment of a Communist regime in China, the immigration to Hong Kong was drastically curtailed. In 1962, however, there was an unusual development spanning a four week period during the months of April and May. It was reported on the twenty-first of April that the rate of illegal entry into Hong Kong was exceeding 200,000 annually.[9] "On the seventeenth of May it was found that Macau, the small Portuguese territory across the bay from Hong Kong, was also bursting with Chinese refugees...Some 80,000 and increasing by 300 a day."[10] The exodus ended abruptly, but not before thousands of refugees had crossed into Hong Kong.

Speculations as to the cause of this outpouring are vaired. In retrospect, the major reason may have been the failure of the Great Leap Forward, compounded by the introduction of the commune system which resulted in serious food shortages and widespread fears of tougher economic

and social policies. However, most of the refugees were able-bodied, and showed no signs of starvation. Peking has maintained diplomatic silence on the affair, and it seems clear that the exodus had the capital's tacit acceptance. On one day along (May 9) some 90 % of the people from China intercepted by the police held exit permits.[11]

The 1962 Director of the Urban Services Department in Hong Kong, Mr. Brian Wilson, seems to have the most plausible answer:

> "The refugees were not starving and probably non anti-communist either. Because most of them had vague connections with or clansmen in Hong Kong, they felt that life might be easier there. When they heard that the Chinese had removed the earlier restrictions on entry to the frontier area, they all rushed forward in a human avalanche, speeded by the thought that the restrictions might be re-imposed before long. Having exhausted their ration cards by the time they reached the border, they had no option but to keep on trying to come into Hong Kong." [12]

The last great outflow of Chinese immigrants, to date, occurred during the Cultural Revolution in 1966. These people were mostly overseas Chinese who had been lured to China in the late 1950's and early 1960's during the "Return to the Motherland" drive. They were invited to return to their ancestral home areas on the mainland from their adopted Southeast Asian countries.[13] Most of the disillusioned, largely fleeing from the oppression and

discrimination of the Sukarno regime in Indonesia, were wealthy, and took large amounts of money with them.[14]

During the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guards turned on the overseas Chinese and other 'rich groups' because of the special privileges they had gained through their economic prominence. They were stopped from getting interest on their money in Chinese banks. This forced them to draw on their invested capital, and many eventually ran out of funds. Other well-educated people who had gained economic influence were given menial jobs.[15] A directive from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to provincial authorities in Kwangtung and Fukien broadly stated that those overseas Chinese with relatives in South-east Asia were free to leave.[16] Thus, for these reasons, there was a noticeable increase in the number of immigrants entering Hong Kong in 1966.

It has always been difficult to estimate, with any accuracy, the number of illegal immigrants who enter Hong Kong over any particular period, as many deliberately remain 'underground' for long periods. Other people may pose as illegal immigrants, although they possess travel documents, hoping that their applications to remain in Hong Kong will be dealt with more sympathetically if they are regarded as 'refugees.'[17]

Taking these factors into account, the two tables that follow are obviously not intended to be definitive

figures. They are merely included to indicate general trends within the last decade. These two tables complement one another in showing similar developments that generally tend to substantiate the government figures of the two departments.

The statistics in Table 1, compiled from the Annual Departmental Reports of the Director of Immigration, show the number of illegal immigrants apprehended while trying to enter Hong Kong from China and Macau. (The geographic proximity of Macau to China and Hong Kong has proven it to be an intermediary point between the two countries. Therefore these figures are included.) The Immigration Department feels that these numbers should be multiplied by a ratio of 1:3 or 1:5 to determine the 'correct' relation of arrests to the total of illegal entries.[18]

Table 1 . 2 indicates the number of legal and illegal to Hong Kong based upon the Annual Department Reports of the Registration of Persons. The Hong Kong Government requires the residents of its colony to obtain Identity cards. All persons intending to take up residence in Hong Kong are supposed to register within 10 days of their arrival. This requirement applies to all new arrivals, whether they arrived legally or illegally. (For more detail see section on Registration of Persons.)

Table 1.1

Immigration Report of Illegal

Immigration from China and Macau

Year	Total	% of Increase or Decrease
1971-72	3,726	+5%
1970-71	1,824	+11%
1969-70	1,624	+23%
1968-69	1,251	-28%
1967-68	4,698	-14%
1966-67	11,100	+57%
1965-66	4,800	-2%
1964-65	5,600	-22%
1963-64	18,000	-69%
1962-63	142,000	

Table 1.2

Registration of Persons

Number of Immigrants from China

Year	Illegal	Legal
1972-73	17,815	29,908
	+35%	+59%
1971-72	11,504	12,141
	+16%	+25%
1970-71	9,610	9,111
	+17%	-40%
1969-70	8,018	12,731
	-32%	+30%
1968-69	10,584	8,472
	-21%	+ 4%
1967-68	12,825	8,110
	+22%	-12%
1966-67	9.970	9.079
	+52%	-31%
1965-66	- no figures available -	
1964-65	4,792	11,930
	-18%	-16%
1963-64	13,205	13,831
	-84%	-20%
1962-63	124,040	16,620
	+62%	+22%
1961-62	47,165	13,027
	+95%	+74%

Chapter 3

Refugee Status - 3.1

Officially, there are two kinds of refugees who leave the People's Republic of China, legal and illegal immigrants. The bridge between China and Hong Kong at Fo Wu is the only legal immigration control point. This connector is used by businessmen in Hong Kong and China, as well as by families visiting relatives in the two countries. In 1971-72, there was a total of 1,153,245 movements across the bridge.[19] (A round trip is regarded as two movements.)

The legal immigrants that are given official permission to leave China are primarily old and unskilled individuals. Most of them are women, and large numbers are overseas Chinese.[20] The amount of legal immigration from China in 1973 surpassed the total number of the previous ten years, reaching a high point of 56,000.[21]

The illegal immigrants enter Hong Kong either by land or water. It is far more difficult to leave China by land. Strangers are suspect in the People's Republic of China, and unless individuals are going through the bigger cities, they must be careful not to identify themselves. There is also a rationing system, which makes it difficult

for those leaving to get food. In addition, upon arrival at the border areas, emigrants must avoid patrols.[22]

Most refugees leave China via water. The vast miles of coastline inhibits efficient patrolling. To avoid being conspicuous, most people opt to swim during the warmer months between April and October. The most popular point of entry seems to be across Mirs Bay to Ping Chou, Kat O Chou, or Op Chou, islands to the east of Hong Kong. Other routes include Macau, a Portuguese holding southwest of Hong Kong, or leaving from the Western shore of China across Deep Bay, in hopes of being intercepted by one of the fourteen Hong Kong Marine Police Patrol Boats.[23]

These swimmers obviously must have great physical endurance, (twelve hours in the water, approximately two miles or more) and most who choose this means of escape are usually under twenty-five years of age.[24] It is no easy feat to reach Hong Kong. The waters are inhabited by sharks, and there are strong tidal currents. It is difficult to estimate the number of fatalities, since most bodies are washed out to sea. Between January and February, 1974, however, forty bodies were discovered.[25]

These illegal immigrants who live great distances from Hong Kong, or decide to leave in colder weather, often travel in junks, sampans, homemade rubber boats, or bamboo rafts.[26] It is not unusual for whole fishing villages to arrive en masse off the shore of the Colony.

Some refugees have obtained access out of China by smuggling operations to Macau in 'snakeboats.' For a price, another connection would be made to Hong Kong, usually below the deckboards of a junk. If enough money was not available at the time, a promise of payment was allowed. Refugees would either pay their debt by borrowing money from relatives, or establish themselves and earn money.[27]

3.2

Rationales for Leaving

It would be impossible to make any categorical conclusions as to why so many people are leaving China. Judging from the large numbers of migrations (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2), each individual would have his own rationale. What follows, therefore, is a brief discussion of subjective hypotheses based upon study of historical events in the People's Republic of China, and personal research.

The most obvious motivation for escape would naturally be to avoid political persecution. Some may leave merely to be reunited with family members residing in Hong Kong. And, still others may prefer to live in Hong Kong because they regard it as an area of law, order, and stability, as compared with conditions brought about by upheavals in China in the pre- and post Mao eras.

Since the People's Republic of China was established, the country has undergone massive changes. As these were implemented (example - The Great Leap Forward), economic deprivation, and shortages of food were not uncommon. This would naturally be an impetus to seek a better life or livelihood elsewhere.

The Cultural Revolution has also had an impact on those who were considered capitalists or landlords. These

include middle or rich farmers, and their relatives, as well as those who were well educated. The Red Guards would re-educate these people in Mao's philosophy of class by sending them to the countryside to perform menial farm labor chores. The length of this work assignment was never stated, and these individuals would resent the work and low pay. Furthermore, the farmers who acted as supervisors felt that the "city people" were not qualified.[28]

3.3

Refugee Case Studies

The following case studies were obtained from the 1973 records of the International Rescue Committee. This agency is non-sectarian, private, and voluntary. It is one of the many relief organizations operating in Hong Kong that helps immigrants from China. They operate two youth hostels, day care centers, and usually provide monetary aid to destitute refugees.

These case studies are presented as a way to illuminate the backgrounds of some people who have left China. Rather than revise this information, I have recorded it in its original form. It should be noted that the International Rescue Committee interviewers needed an understanding of both Chinese dialects and English. As will be seen, the proficiency in English was often low.

Case #1

Case study #1 was employed as a farmer in the Kintau Commune located in Tungkoon from 1968 to 1973. This single person was born on September 16, 1950 in Canton, Kwangtung province. Date of arrival in Hong Kong was December 2, 1973. He was educated in the Taitung primary school in Canton, K'tung, China from 1956-1962, the middle school at K'tung from 1962-1965, and the last school was the Sutyung school in Canton, Kwantung, China 1965-1966. He speaks fluent Cantonese and also reads, writes, and understands it. He was employed from 1968 to 1973 as a farmer and escaped to Hong Kong. On December 2, 1973, he started his journey with three other friends from Kintau via Ching Kai, Fung Kong, Wang Kong, Ny Tung Hill, Sha Tau Kok, and then arrived at Tai Po. He was detained at Un Long police station for four days. After discharge he was sent to the International Rescue Committee hostel for temporary shelter because he had no relatives in Hong Kong. He was a high school graduate, and after he finished his schooling he was forced to go to Kan Tau commune for farm work. He had insufficient food and clothing so he decided to flee to Hong Kong for a better living. He is now unemployed, and wishes to have any kind of job. The hostel supervisor is going to find a job for him in the near future. At present he encounters financial difficulties. He was given a one hundred Hong Kong dollar allotment for an allowance

so that he could get a permanent job and was accepted in the hostel for temporary shelter.

Case #2

This person is married, nationality Chinese, birthdate November 12, 1939. His birthplace is Wai Yeung, K'Tung, China, and the date of his arrival in Hong Kong was November 21, 1973. Education Sun Chou Hospital Evening School, K;Tung, China from 1955-1959. Speaks fluent Cantonese and can only slightly read and write,and understands easily. 1960-1966 he was a casual worker. Between 1966-1969 he worked at the Canton Construction Company as a laborer and was later discharged. He was then self-employed between 1969-1973 as a fisherman, but did not earn a large salary and he escaped to Hong Kong. The case was referred to the International Rescue Committee by the International Social Service for financial assistance. The applicant is an ex-leper who entered the Sun Chou Hospital in Shek Lung from 1952 to 1960. After discharge he earned his living by working as a construction worker and fisherman. He found the life hard so he decided to flee to Hong Kong together with another person, Mr. X. They escaped to Hong Kong by paddling a fishing boat. He started from Man King-Sha via Ling Ding, [illegible]ng Ko, and finally arrived at Tung Chung on November 21, 1973, reporting to the Tung Chung police

station. He was detained there for one night. After that he was referred to Marine Police Headquarters and was also detained there for one night. Then he approached his friend at Tze-Wan Shan estate. He only received four years of education at an evening school while he was in Sun Chow Hospital. He has no relatives in Hong Kong. Because he is an ex-leper, he was referred to Ho Man Tin, a special skin clinic for medical checks by the Hong Kong Immigration Department. Ho Man Tin, however, claimed that his disease was no longer active. He encounters financial difficulties and has to find some kind of job to support himself. He also hopes that he will be accepted in the International Rescue Committee hostel for a temporary period. He was given forty Hong Kong dollars and a cotton quilt by the International Social Service. He was given one hundred Hong Kong dollars by the International Rescue Committee who will give him employment assistance as soon as he is cleared by the special skin clinic.

Case #3

This person is male, single, and is presently staying at the International Rescue Committee hostel. He was born in 1938 in the Mui Yuens, K'Tung, China, and he arrived in Hong Kong in October, 1973. He did attend school, but could not remember the name or the years he attended. His address was in Mui Yuen, K'Tung, China.

He can speak Mandarin fluently, but reads and writes only slightly. Cantonese is also listed but there is nothing under the categories of speaking, writing or understanding. He was a factory worker, no dates and no employer listed. This case was referred to the International Rescue Committee by the Castle Peak Hospital for financial assistance. Mr. S, the applicant, arrived in Hong Kong in October, 1973 with an exit permit from China. After he arrived, he approached his friend in North Point. On November 6, 1973 he was admitted to Castle Peak Hospital because he attempted to commit suicide by jumping overboard from a ferry. After a prolonged observation in the hospital, studies revealed an absence of psychotic illness. He was discharged December 12, 1973 and then referred to the International Rescue Committee hostel for temporary shelter. Mr. X is now unemployed. He hopes to find any kind of job to supplement his living. He also encounters financial difficulties because he has spent most all his money which he brought from China. He has no relatives in Hong Kong. He prefers to live in the International Rescue Committee hostel for a temporary period. Probably it was due to financial difficulties and despair from helplessness that he attempted to end his life. He is not suffering from mental disease and is ready to take up a job and earn his living. He was given one hundred Hong Kong dollars for immediate necessities. He was accepted in a hostel and

the Committee tried to get him a job with the United Laundry.

Case #4

This case study is a single woman of Chinese nationality. Her birthdate was April 28, 1903 in Nam Hoi, K'Tung, China. The date of arrival in Hong Kong was August, 1973, and she has no dependents. She can speak and understand Cantonese fluently, but cannot read or write. From 1949 to 1972, she was a baby-sitter earning $12 Jin-Min-piao per month. Between 1972 to 1973, she was a handworker for $7 Jin-Min-Piao per month. This case was referred to the International Rescue Committee by the International Social Service for cash assistance. This woman came to Hong Kong with an exit permit in August, 1973. She was never married. A year ago she broke her leg, and was no longer employed. She did some handwork at home for the Government. In order to have a better living, she applied to come to Hong Kong. The daughter, however, is a widow with six children, and she feels it hard to support one more person. The older woman, the applicant, is too old for employment, and she is unable to maintain her own living. Two months ago she went to a nunnery in Tsuen-Wan, and was provided lodging and meals. However, she was told to leave because she gave nothing for her meals and lodging fee. She, therefore, came to us for financial assistance. In view of her arrival status, she is

not eligible for public assistance. She was given eighty Hong Kong dollars for care and maintenance each month, which continued for a period of six months. She is living in a Buddhist Nunnery in Tsuen-Wan, and she will give the money to the nuns for her lodging and meal fee.

Case #5

This person is a male Chinese, born November 19, 1951, and arrived in Hong Kong July 24, 1973. He has no dependents, and was educated at Hog Way Road Primary School in Canton, K'Tung, China from 1958 to 1965. He continued his education at the Canton number eleven Middle School from 1965 to 1968. He can speak fluent Cantonese, and can read, write, and understand on a good level. From 1968 to 1973, he was employed at the Cheung On Commune, Tung Koon, K'Tung, China as a farmer. He finished his Junior Middle School education, and was sent to work in a village as a farmer. The work was hard, and food was insufficient, so he decided to flee to Hong Kong alone. He started from Tung Koon, and went through Sai Heung, and Nan Pau. At night he began to swim, and about nine hours later, he arrived at Lau Fau Shan on July 24, 1973. He knocked on a farmers door and was helped to contact a friend in Kowloon. He was given $150 Hong Kong by the farmer, which he later repaid. Upon his arrival in Hong Kong, he moved in with his friend, who lived alone. From that time on, he

also helped with his friends business. His friend is a hawker (peddler) who sells childrens clothing along the road. This case study recently obtained his Identification Card, and has found a job in a Textile Factory in Kwa Chung, the New Territories. He will start his job in the next two days. He was encountering financial problems until he got his first pay check. He came to the International Rescue Committee, who gave him $100 Hong Kong as an allowance.

Case #6

These two single females are from China. The first was born on February 3, 1954, in Chung Yuk-Lan. The second was born on June 1, 1954, in Chung Kuk-Muir. They arrived in Hong Kong July, 1973. Neither have any schooling, but they can speak and understand Cantonese fluently. These two women had no chance for educational opportunities in mainland China. They began their fishing careers when they were two years old. They could not bear the hard life of mainland China, and they fled to Hong Kong by swimming on July 19, 1973. On their way to Sha-tsui for fishing, they jumped from the fishing boat and swam towards Castle Peak Bay. It took them four hours to finish their journey. They were employed from July, 1973, to November, 1973, at a semi-conductor company in Tai Po as workers, but the company closed. Since they cannot get new jobs, they encounter

financial problems. They think that if they become fishermen again, their living will improve. One woman's blood brother came to the International Rescue Committee for cash assistance to buy a fishing junk. If the proposal is accepted by the International Rescue Committee, that will assist them in their fishing enterprise, and their problem of unemployment will be solved. The refugee Immigration and Migration Unit of the United States Consulate in Hong Kong promised they would grant the blood brother $5,000 Hong Kong for purchasing a fishing boat if these two women would assist him in his fishing enterprise. This was approved.

Case #7

This single man from China was born June 21, 1934 in Chung-Shan, K'Tung, China. He has no dependents, and was educated at Woo Ping Primary School in K'Tung, China from 1945 to 1949. He can speak Cantonese fluently, but only read, write, and understand slightly. From 1960 to 1973, he was employed as a farmer in Chung-shan, Quang Tung, China. He escaped to Hong Kong by paddling a fishing boat with another friend, and arrived on November 23, 1973. He is an ex-leper, and received medical treatment from 1950 to 1960 in China. He feels he is fully recovered. After he arrived in Hong Kong, he approached his friend, who referred him to the Homantan special skin clinic for a

medical check. He found life as a farmer so hard, he escaped to Hong Kong. He was unemployed and in need of financial assistance. He was given thirty Hong Kong dollars from a medical case worker at Homantan. He was also given $100 Hong Kong for care and maintenance. He was accepted in the International Rescue Committee Hostel, who tried to find him a job when he had a clear medical report.

Case #8

This single man from China was born June 11, 1948, in Swatow, K'Tung, China. He has a Father, Mother, Brother, and Sister still living in China. He was educated at the Kwok-Ping Primary School in Swateau, China from 1958 to 1960. He has a Chiu Chow dialect which he speaks fluently, but can only slightly read and write. He was employed from 1968 to 1973 in Swatow, China, as a hawker with a salary of $30 Jin-Min-piao. He escaped to Hong Kong by swimming with other friends. He arrived in Hong Kong December 14, 1973. He has no relatives here, and is facing financial problems. He used to be a hawker in China, but he found life so hard that he left his family for the sake of his future. At present, he is unemployed, and is in need of financial assistance and employment aid. He was given $100 Hong Kong, and referred to United Laundry for employment.

Case #9

This Chinese male was born January 3, 1949 in K'Chow, China. He entered Hong Kong on December 24, 1973. He has three dependents - his father, a sailor born in 1922, a mother, born in 1934 who worked as an assistant farmer, and a sister born in 1953. He was educated at the King Wo Len Primary school in Honan, China from 1958 to 1963. He continued his education at the K'Chow #5 Middle School in Canton, China from 1963 to 1968. He can speak, read, write, and understand Cantonese fluently. He was employed as a farmer from 1968 to 1973 at the Lung Kiu Commune, earning $15 Jin-Min-piao. He escaped Mainland China December 24, 1974. He started his journey with his friends by walking and climbing over mountains. After arriving in Hong Kong, he was detained at the Un Long Police Station for five days. He contacted his cousin, where he is presently living. His cousin has seven children, and finds it difficult to support one more person. The man is unemployed at the present time, and is in need of financial assistance. He got $100 Hong Kong for temporary care and maintenance, and is now trying to find employment.

Case #10

This single Chinese man was born on December 21, 1944. His birthplace was Tong-Koon Kaw. He attended Primary School in Tong Koon, Kwangtung, China from 1950 to 1952. He can speak

and understand Cantonese fluently, but only read and write slightly. He was a farmer from 1952 to 1973 at the Tai Ling Sheun Commune in Kwangtung, China, earning $30 Jin-Min-piao. He fled to Hong Kong with three other friends by walking and swimming for four days. He started from Po-On, then went to Sha Cheng, Kung Ping Market, Ping Yuen, and then arrived at Un Long. He lost contact with his friends on his way to Hong Kong. After arrival, he reported to the Un Long Police Station, where he was detained for two days. After discharge, he approached the International Rescue Committee hostel for temporary accommodation. He has no friends or relatives in Hong Kong. He was a farmer and went to Hong Kong for a better living. He was given one hundred Hong Kong dollars for care and maintenance. He was introduced to Cathay Pacific Airlines for a limited position as a warehouseman.

Case #11

This Chinese male was born on November 2, 1951 in Poon Yu, Kwangtung, China. He arrived in Hong Kong December 19, 1973. He was educated at the Shung Nam Primary School in Poon Yu, China from 1959 to 1963. He speaks and understands Cantonese fluently, but can only slightly read or write. He was a farmer between 1970 to 1973, earning .35 Jin-Min-piao per day at the Tai Kong Commune in Quang Fung, China. He fled to Hong Kong with three other people by

paddling a fishing junk, which they bought from a friend for $220 Jin-Min-piao. He started from Tai Kong Commune via Nam Sha, then Nam-Wan-Fai. He arrived at Castle Peak December 19, 1973, at 3:00 P.M. He was intercepted by the Marine Police, and detained at Un Long Police Station for one day. After discharge, he approached the International Rescue Committee hostel for temporary accommodations. He has no friends or relatives in Hong Kong, and only earned about .35 Jin-Min-piao per day. With such a limited income, he was starving and lacked clothing. In order to have a better living, he decided to come to Hong Kong. He wanted a job to support himself. He was also sent to Cathay Pacific Airways for a position as a warehouseman. He was given one hundred Hong Kong dollars by the International Rescue Committee.

Case #12

This single Chinese male was born on October 26, 1952 in Canton, Quangtung, China. Arrival date in Hong Kong was December 25, 1973. He has no dependents. He was educated at the Po Ching Primary School in Canton from 1960 to 1965. He went to the Canton Experimental School from 1965 to 1968. He got a Junior Middle School Graduate Degree. He can speak fluent Cantonese, and read, write, and understand well. He was a farmer from 1968 to 1973 at the Kiu Tau Commune in Tung Koon, K'Tung, China. He finished

Junior Middle School and was then sent to work as a farmer. He worked hard, but received no reward. He decided to flee to Hong Kong for a better living. He was accompanied by two friends, and they started their escape from Tung Koon. They walked on the hillside for ten days via Nam Min Shan, Ching Kei plain, Hung Fa Ling Plain, then Lung Kong Plain, and reached Chan Hang. Then they began to swim, and about four hours later they reached Op Chau near Kit-O, on December 25, 1973. They came ashore and met a Policeman. From the Sha Tin Police Station, they were transferred to the Un Long Police Station. He had no relatives or friends in Hong Kong. He encounters financial and unemployment problems. He was given one hundred Hong Kong dollars for maintenance, and contacted Cathay Pacific Airways.

Case #13

This single Chinese male was born on July 20, 1954 in K'Tung, China. The date of his arrival in Hong Kong was December 24, 1973. He was educated at the Chi Poo Primary School in Canton from 1962 to 1968, and went to the K'Chow number twenty-nine Middle School from 1968 to 1972. He can speak, read, and understand Cantonese fluently, but writes only fairly well. In addition, he can speak, read, and understand Mandarin. He is not employed. This man, accompanied by his friends, fled to Hong Kong by walking and climbing over mountains for fifteen days. He lost

trace of his friends in their journey, and arrived alone in Hong Kong on December 24, 1973. Upon arrival, he was detained at the Un Long Police Station for five days. After that, he was sent to the International Rescue Committee hostel. He has no relatives in Hong Kong, and is unemployed at the present time. He is in need of financial assistance. He escaped to Hong Kong because he found life was intolerable after the Communists took over China. He was restricted in every way, and had been unemployed for one year. For the sake of a better future, he escaped to Hong Kong. He was also given one hundred Hong Kong dollars, and sent to Cathay Pacific Airways.

Case #14

This Chinese male was born on April 14, 1953 in Swatow, K'Tung, China. He entered Hong Kong on December 28, 1973. He received only two years of education while he was in China. He worked at a stone factory in Swatow, and three years later was sent to work in a village as a farmer. He had insufficient food, and his income was low. Therefore, he decided to flee to Hong Kong with his two friends. He started from Yeung Fu. They walked on the hillside for eleven days, then proceeded to Tam Shui, O Tau Road, and reached Kwai Chung, where they began to swim. About ten hours later, they reached Tap Moon on December 28, 1973. They met the Marine Police, and were brought to the Un Long

Police Station where they were detained for two days. After being discharged, they were brought to the International Rescue Committee hostel by the International Social Services. His friends are now living with relatives. He has a cousin in Hong Kong, but he lost the address while swimming so he can't contact him. He is unemployed, and given one hundred Hong Kong dollars by the International Rescue Committee. He was sent to Cathay Pacific Airways for employment.

Case #15

This Chinese male was born on September 27, 1945 in Ko Chow in Quangtung, China. His date of arrival in Hong Kong was December 27, 1973. He had a Primary School education between 1953 to 1955 at the Chung Hou Primary School in Quangtung, China. He can speak and understand Cantonese fluently, but only read and write slightly. From 1962 to 1973, he was employed as a casual worker earning $3 Jin-Min-piao per day. He walked to Hong Kong from Pok Law via Chua-Oung, Sun Hui, Lung Kong, Wang King, and arrived at Sheung Shiu at 1:00 P.M. The journey took about four days. After arrival, he reported to the Sheung Shiu Police Station, and was referred to the Un Long Police Station. He was detained at the Un Long Station for two days. After discharge, he approached the International Rescue Committee hostel for temporary accommodation. He found the life in China hard, so he decided to flee to Hong Kong for a better living.

He has no relatives or friends in Hong Kong, and is in need of employment and financial assistance. He was given one hundred Hong Kong dollars and sent to Cathay Pacific Airways.

3.4

Processing of Refugees

When the refugees are intercepted by the police, they are provided with clothing, and hot meals. The total cost of this policy amounts to about thirty Hong Kong dollars per refugee. The Police investigate the refugees in order to ascertain whether they were truly residents of China. This is accomplished by having the refugees describe their communes.[29]

After enquiries are completed, they are required to report to Immigration Headquarters to obtain permits to legalize their presence in the Cology. While the refugees are being processed at the Headquarters, personnel from the International Social Service give them advice and information on employment, housing, education, and often refer them to relief agencies operating in Hong Kong.[30] This process takes about one to two days.

A good number of refugees have relatives or friends in Hong Kong. The policy notify these kin members when a relative or acquaintance of their family has arrived in Hong Kong. If an individual is destitute, he is referred to a social relief agency, which will often give monetary aid and advice in obtaining a job.

3.5

Work Status of Refugees

Most of the people arriving from China are unskilled, aged, young, unemployable, or a combination of all four.[31] Many Chinese have difficulties in looking for an office job. The greatest problem is that few know any English. Some are University graduates with a high ability in mathematics, physics, and other subjects, but don't have the slightest chance or working in big firms. Their only alternative is to work in a textile or plastic factory, or become a hawker (peddler).[32] The working conditions in China are better than Hong Kong's to some extent, and the refugees often feel unsatisfied with their jobs, particularly those that require more than eight hours work a day.[33]

Hong Kong society is very different from communes such as Kwangtung and Fukien.[34] Because of the impressions which people in China get, either from listening to Hong Kong radio broadcasts or from visiting relatives, most refugees think of Hong Kong as a 'heaven'.[35] They sometimes face a cultural shock when they are trapped by the misery of unemployment, and become lost in an entirely different society.

Chapter 4

Hong Kong Government Policy

The chapter which follows presents the policy of the Hong Kong Government in regards to legal and illegal Chinese immigrants. It would be impractical to try and cover all aspects related to the refugees. Therefore, I have been selective in presenting four Departments that would be most concerned with the problems of refugees - The Department of Immigration, The Department of Registration of Persons, The Department of Social Welfare, and the Department of Resettlement.

4.1

Department of Immigration

Prior to World War II, there was free movement of Chinese between Hong Kong and China. There were two main reasons for this - economic and social necessity.[36] In regards to the first point, Hong Kong served as an intermediary port for bulk goods that were shipped to and from China. Agents, buyers, and traders , with world-wide and local interests, would move freely across the border in pursuit of trade. Socially, nearby Kwangtung represented the rural area of urban Hong Kong. There existed a situation similar to that of a city dweller and a farmer.

This free movement was interrupted and immigration restrictions were applied in an attempt to inhibit the large number of Chinese fleeing from Communist control. On May 1, 1950, entry permits were required of all Chinese coming from China, except for natives of Kwangtung Province (Contonese). A quota system was imposed on entry from Macau, Swatow, and Taiwan, as well as the land frontier between China and Hong Kong. The Chinese People's Government imposed a system of entry and exit permits for the Province on February 12, 1951.

These ordinances followed an irregular trend in the years between 1950 to 1956. The quotas of both countries would expire, then be re-introduced, and at times be

36

temporarily lifted. After a great influx into Hong Kong, the quota system was re-imposed by the Colony Government on September 3, 1950.[38] It has remained in force to this day, although the official quota number has varied.

Even though these government policies do exist, their effectiveness has fluctuated depending upon the political and economic conditions in China. In 1962, for example, an estimated 200,000 legal immigrants from China entered Hong Kong. As mentioned in Chapter 2, theories have been presented suggesting starvation, and/or a permissive policy in the People's Republic of China. Most recently, the Chinese Government relaxed immigration controls in 1973. At one point, there was a daily high of three hundred legal immigrants to Hong Kong. The Peking-Whitehall negotiations between the two countries in October and November, 1973, limited the quota to one hundred a day.[39]

The Hong Kong Department of Immigration was created on August 4, 1961, and responsibility for this area passed from the Commissioner of Police to the Director of Immigration. This Director is responsible to the Governor for the implementation of laws concerning the movement in and out of the Colony by land, sea, and air, naturalization, the issue of travel documents, and other related matters.

There are three main divisions in the Immigration Department - Documents Division, Control Division, and

the Investigation Division. Within these Divisions, there are various sections that are concerned with immigrants, especially those from China.

Documents Division

The Chinese Section deals with the travel requirements of Chinese who cannot obtain national passports, or who hold passports issued by the People's Republic of China, or travel documents issued by the Taiwan authorities. This section is responsible for dealing with applications for the:

(a) entry, visit, or transit of Chinese nationals and 'Stateless" Chinese residing overseas;

(b) issue of Certificates of Identity to local Chinese residents who require identity papers for travel purposes in lieu of acceptable passports;

(c) issue of re-entry visas and extensions of stay to Chinese visiting or temporarily residing in the Colony;

(d) issue of visas to Chinese on behalf of Commonwealth countries which are not otherwise represented in the Colony for this purpose.[40]

This section was closely involved in the supply of travel documents for people travelling to the United States under the 'Refugee Parole Program' started by President Kennedy in June, 1962.[41]

Control Division

The Border Section of Immigration control on the Sino-British frontier is carried out at Lo Wu, where the railway bridge across the Shum Chun River is the crossing

point for travellers leaving and entering China.[42]

Investigation Division

The Investigation Division primarily traces persons who have contravened the immigration laws, and is responsible for the institution of legal proceedings against them. Illegal immigrants arrested by the POlice are interviewed by officers of this section, and also illegal immigrants are referred to the Department by the Registration of Persons Office.[43] Many illegal immigrants give false information about themselves and their relatives in hope of confusing the Immigration Department.

4.2

Department of Registration of Persons

To assist in the 1950 Hong Kong immigration restrictions, the Colony Government required the registration of every person twelve years old and above, and the issuance of an identity card to the registrant. This is still a primary responsibility of the Department of Registration of Persons.

The present laws require all persons resident in the Colony of six years of age and above, apart from those specially exempted, to register for Identity Cards. Parents and guardians are responsible for the registration of their children or dependents between the ages of six and seventeen years. Young persons are required to register for adult Identity Cards within thirty days of attaining the age of seventeen. Individuals are additionally responsible for reporting any changes of address, employment, and other such particulars.[44]

Legislation also requires all persons arriving to take up residence in the colony to register within ten days of their date of arrival. Identity Cards are normally issued to newcomers four months after registration, provided the Department is satisfied that residence has by then been properly established. This requirement applies to all New Arrivals, irrespective of nationality and whether or not

they arrived legally or illegally.[45]

A sample of these two types of Regiatration Cards follows on pages 42 and 43.

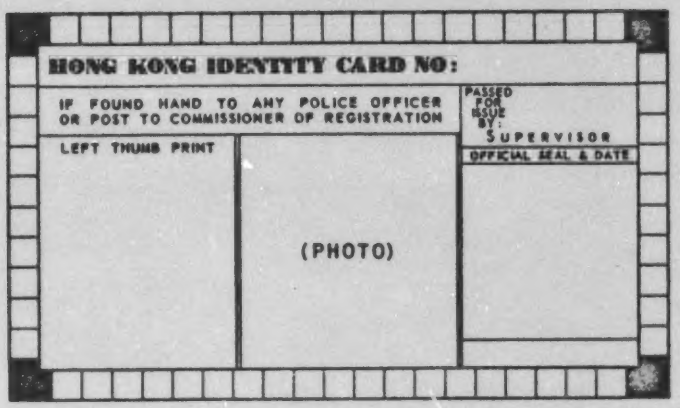
Many illegal immigrants fail to register at the correct time, in the hope that once establishing residence, they would be allowed to stay permanently. Some families do not register together, preferring to register separately, or as members of other families, so that in the event of some of their members being repatriated, the remainder would be allowed to stay in the Colony.[46]

In Hong Kong, one must have an identity card in order to qualify for a job. Some who do not register, for the reasons stated above, turn to illegal hawking. Others turn to burglary, with little worry of being traced, since their fingerprints would not be on any official records.[47]

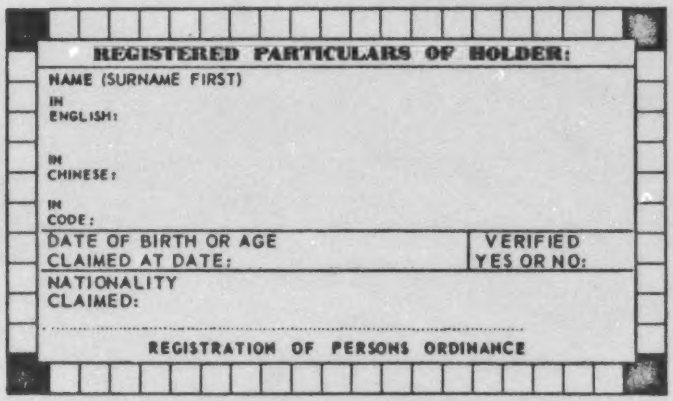
FIRST SCHEDULE. [reg. 5.]

FORM 1.

(Front).

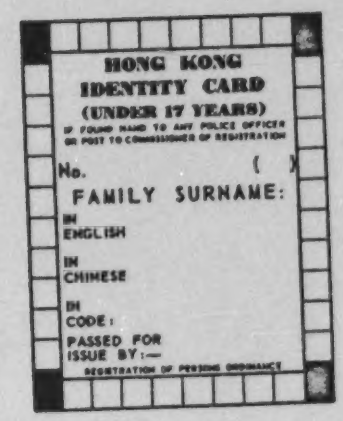

HONG KONG IDENTITY CARD NO:
IF FOUND HAND TO ANY POLICE OFFICER OR POST TO COMMISSIONER OF REGISTRATION
PASSED FOR ISSUE BY: SUPERVISOR
OFFICIAL SEAL & DATE
LEFT THUMB PRINT
(PHOTO)

(Back).



FORM 2.

(Front).



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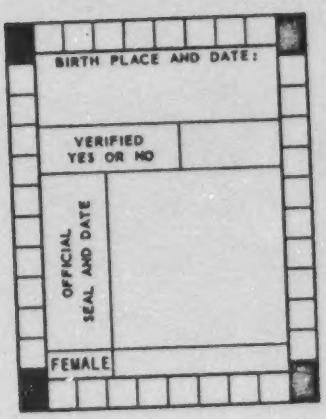

Department of Social Welfare

The Department of Social Welfare consists of the following five divisions: Family Services Division, Rehabilitation Division, Group and Community Work Division, Probation and Corrections Division, and Public Assistance Division. I will focus on the Public Assistance Division, which deals more with direct aid to less fortunate Hong Kong residents (including the Chinese refugees).

Public Assistance Division

The Public Assistance Division is responsible for the processing of all applications for public assistance programs. The Direct Public Assistance Scheme brings the income and other resources of individuals and families up to a certain level. Normally public assistance is needed for a limited time only, until the recipient becomes independent again. In some cases, i.e. the elderly, it is paid on a longer term basis. Any person or family who has resided in Hong Kong for at least one year is eligible for public assistance if he does not have enough income or other resources to meet requirements by public assistance standards. Persons of working age, who are fit and available for work, and without dependents, are not available for

for assistance.

The monthly Public Assistance scale for a single person is 110 Hong Kong dollars. Members of a family receive from 50 to 80 Hong Kong dollars for each of the first three members, from 40 to 65 Hong Kong dollars for each of the next three, and from 30 to 50 Hong Kong dollars for each additional member. The maximum rent allowance was based on Government low cost housing levels, with a provision for long term cases paying higher rents to be eligible for rehousing.[50]

The Disability and Infirmity Allowance Scheme is designed to provide non-means tested, non contributory allowances for the severely disabled and the elderly infirm. A person or child who is certified by the Hong Kong Director of Medical and Health Services as severely disabled and has had at least one year's residence in the Colony is entitled to the full rate of allowance (110 Hong Kong dollars per month). Any person aged 75 or over who has lived in Hong Kong continuously for at least five years is entitled to half the rate of allowance (55 Hong Kong dollars), provided that in either case, the applicant is not in residential institutional care. The allowance is paid monthly for six monthly periods as long as the applicant is alive and eligible.[51]

Emergency relief is usually given in the form of hot meals. In addition, blankets, clothing, and eating utensils are distributed.

4.4

Department of Resettlement

Housing became a real problem after World War II, when people from China and other countries moved back to the Colony. From 1945 to 1950, the population increased by 377%. In all parts of the urban areas of the Colony, the tenement buildings were overcrowded to six times their pre-war density, and a large proportion of the population was unable to squeeze into already overcrowded flats.[52] Squatting, the occupying of an unauthorized structure on Government or private land, was the only solution.

This situation still exists today, but is not as rampant as the years between 1951 and 1953. The squatters build shelters anywhere - on streets, vacant urban sites, hillsides, ravines, slopes, roof-tops of old tenement houses, and derelict boats. There was no thought about ownership of the land.

These temporary structures are constructed of various materials that were obtained at little or no cost - flattened sheets of tin, wooden boarding, fibre boards, sacking slung on frames, packing cases, corrugated sheet metal or asbestos cement, and plastics.[53]

Mass-squatting would seem to appear overnight on vacant sites. There is no sanitation and seldom any organized

system of refuse disposal in these areas. Water supply posed another problem. Water mains were non-existant, and water for all purposes had to be carried long distances from communal standpipes or collected from hillside streams, often consisting of contaminated water.[54]

Animals, such as poultry and pigs, live under the same roof, or around the huts. The dwellings are often built in great density, with little air and light, because illegally occupied land is scarce.

Living under such conditions can be hazardous in many ways. There was an inherent danger of widespread epidemics. Recurring problems of water shortage were not uncommon, which exacerbated efforts to control disease, and provide an adequate fire-fighting service. Typhoons would destroy the flimsy huts, and cause landslides which often buried their inhabitants. And, lastly, fire was a continual threat. A good example of its destructive force was the 1953 Christmas night fire in Shek Kip Mei, then the largest squatter area in the colony consisting of 80,000 people. As a result of this tragedy, 57,151 victims were homeless.[55]

In 1954, the Government assumed direct responsibility for the squatters and created the Department for Resettlement. The Department was created in order to coordinate the duties of squatter control and clearance, which had been under the jurisdiction of several department of government. One of the first actions undertaken was the design and specification of

of multi-storey housing blocks. Squatter land that had been cleared by fire was claimed for the resettlement programme, and the former squatters were prevented from returning.

These policies are still in effect today, and the Government is trying to limit further growths of squatter areas. All huts are surveyed and numbered, recording floor area, height, and intended use of rooms. The government is legally authorized to demolish any new structure, or one that has been extended.[56] The individuals that are expelled are allowed to erect new huts on a licensed site, with a space allocation of about 24 square feet per adult, and pay their rent at a cost of about 20 Hong Kong dollars per month.[57]

When an area is designated for development, the squatters are usually given notice in advance. The squatter families that are affected are interviewed, and their size and income are noted. From this information, an adequate space is reserved for them in the new resettlement estate.

Chapter 5

International Policy

The Chinese refugee problem is a concern not only of Hong Kong, but international agencies as well. In one case, the United Nations, international politics prevented any significant aid. Other international voluntary organizations, however, are active in Hong Kong. Local associations are also operating along regional and clan lines. These matters are all discussed in the following pages.

5.1

The United Nations

International recognition of the humanitarian aspect of the refugee problem was coincident to the population disruptions of World War I. In 1921, the League of Nations appointed the first High Commissioner for Refugees. This office was continued under the aegis of the United Nations in 1947. The present Statute defining the jurisdiction of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees resulted from a Conference of Plenipotentiaries held in Geneva in 1951. This Mandate was developed with the problem of the European refugees primarily in mind. Extracts of this Mandate dealing with the definition of a refugee follows:

A. (i) Any person who has been considered a refugee under (prior international conventions)

(ii) Any person who, as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fears or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to return to it.

The competence of the High Commissioner shall cease to apply to any person defined in section (A) above if:

(a)He has voluntarily re-availed himself of the

protection of the country of his nationality; or

(b) Having lost his nationality, he has voluntarily reacquired it; or

(c) He has acquired a new nationality, and enjoys the protection of the country of his new nationality; or

(d) He has voluntarily re-established himself in the country which he left or outside which he remained owing to fear of persecution; or

(e) He can no longer . . . claim grounds other than those of personal convenience for continuing to refuse to avail himself of the protection of the country of his nationality.

(f) Being a person who has no nationality, he can no longer, because the circumstances in connection with which he has been recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist and he is able to return to the country of his former habitual residence, claim grounds other than those of personal convenience, for continuing to refuse to return to that country.

B. Any other person who is outside the country of his nationality, or if he has no nationality, the country of his former habitual residence, because he has or had well-founded fear of persecution by reason of his race, religion, nationality of political opinion and is unable, or because of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the government of the country of his nationality, or, if he has no nationality, to return to the country of his former habitual residence.

7. Provided that the competence of the High Commissioner as defined in paragraph 6 above shall not extend to a person:

(a) Who is a national of more than one country unless he satisfies the provisions of the preceding paragraph in relation to each of the countries of which he is a national; or

(b) Who is recognized by the competent authorities of the country in which he has taken residence as having the rights and obligations which are attached to the possession of the nationality of that country; or

(c) Who continues to receive from other organs or agencies of the United Nations protection or assistance; or

(d) In respect of whom there are serious reasons for considering that he has committed a crime covered by the provisions of treaties of extradition or a crime mentioned in Article VI of the London Charter of the International Military Tribunal or by the Provisions of Article 14, paragraph 2, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Thus, a refugee was defined as one who has fled from his home country and who dares not return for fear of persecution, unless he has been given national rights in the country where he now is. If the refugee met this criteria, with exceptions, the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner could be obtained, at least legally.

An investigation of the Chinese refugee problem was recommended by the Advisory Committee of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1953. Dr. Edvard Hambro was appointed to head the mission to determine whether the Chinese refugees would come within the mandate of the United Nations.

The report was completed in November, 1954, at which time it was concluded that the refugees in Hong Kong were beyond the competence of the High Commissioner. The investigation ascertained that the Hong Kong refugees satisfied two of the requirements of the High Commissioner's Mandate for refugees - they were expatriates, and unwilling to return to China for fear of persecution. The essential question, however, was whether the refugees could avail

themselves of the protection of the country of their nationality-China.[58]

There were two governments of China - the regime at Taipei which was represented at the United Nations, and the People's Republic of China. Those states which recognized the People's Republic of China felt that the United Nations should assume responsibility, because the refugees could not avail themselves of the protection of the country of their nationality. The states which recognized the Government of the Republic of China in Taiwan concluded that the refugees could avail themselves of the protection of the country of their nationality. Therefore, the United Nations should not assume jurisdiction.

Hambro stated that his commission had no alternative but to find that "those refugees who can be--in the legal sense--protected by the Government of the Republic of China fall outside his mandate, since that government is accepted by the United Nations."[59]

There was also a second point of contention - Paragraph 7, Section (b) stating that the competence of the High Commissioner would not extend to a person

> Who is recognized by the competent authorities of the country in which he has taken residence as having the rights and obligations which are attached to the possession of the nationality of that country

The Hong Kong policy was regarded as inconsistent, making it difficult to determine the intent of the Hong Kong Government. Even though certain immigration laws technically

prohibited illegal entry, they were not always enforced. The matter was resolved in a statement of policy by the Hong Kong Government in 1962. The Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong stated that the " fundamental point in our policy hitherto is that this Government has never distinguished in any way between the immigrant population and the population which has its roots here. All have the same rights and the same opportunities."[60] His concluding remark indicated his preference for a kind of general assistance - "The first way in which the outside world can help this Colony with its burdens is to assume reasonable access to overseas markets for the limited range of goods that we can produce efficiently."[61]

It is in this context that the legal status of the refugee is defined by the Hong Kong Government, and subsequently, by international law.

Under the Good Office resolutions of the General Assembly, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is permitted, and has carried on a program on behalf of the Hong Kong refugees, not directly operating, but trying to summon the maximum of international aid and services.[62]

Until Peking was admitted to the United Nations in 1971, there was little it could do about United Nations efforts to rehabilitate Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. The People's Republic of China has now officially stated at the United Nations that "The Chinese living in Hong Kong and Macau are not 'refugees' at all because both Hong Kong and

Macau are China's territory." [63] It regards the United Nations assistance as "illegal . . . interference in China's internal affairs."[64] To date, the only headway the People's Republic of China has made in its complaint is the deletion of the terms Chinese and Tibetan in the High Commissioner's reports.

5.2

International and Local Aid

Hong Kong receives assistance from many international welfare agencies that provide aid to refugees. Some of the most active are as follows:

American Foundation for Overseas Blind, Inc.(1959)

Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, Inc., Maryknoll (prewar)

Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere, Inc., (CARE).

Church World Service (1953)

International Rescue Committee (1960)

International Social Service (1958)

Lutheran World Federation (international)

National Catholic Welfare Conference, Catholic Relief Services (1949)

Seventh-day Adventist Welfare Service

World Council of Churches (international)

Most of these agencies have been operating in Hong Kong since the early 1950's. None of them have established any deadline for the discontinuances of their programs. It is estimated that these organizations provide assistance to over 700,000 persons.[65]

Local Aid

For the Hong Kong refugees who have exhausted their savings, are without friends or relatives, and unable to find

employment, there is another institution which is deeply rooted in Chinese society. That is, the clan or local association. In Hong Kong, there are two important types. The first is called the t'ung hsiang hui or regional association - 'association of people from the same countryside'. the second, the shih tsung ch'en hui, is a clan association - 'association of relatives from the clan'. The main function of these associations is to provide relief for people from a certain area bearing a certain name.[66]

The membership of these organizations consist mainly of successful businessmen. Prospective members must be in a sound financial position, and recommended by persons who are already members. These poeple must also be prepared to contribute to relief and philanthropic projects which constitute the principal activities of the association. Although there are nominal membership dues for business organizations and individuals, members are expected to make donations according to their capacity to pay. The leading members of the association are also expected to head up teams which solicit donations during special financial drives.[67]

One of the primary incentives to join one of these associations is undoubtedly prestige. Membership is a sign both of financial success, virtue, and prominence. The goal of many ambitious members is to become one of the officers of the association, whose photographs appear in an annual yearbook.[68]

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Rather than reiterate the information that has been presented, I will discuss the future of the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. It is certainly a continuing problem, which will undoubtedly increase rather than diminish in the years to come.

In practice, the Hong Kong Government allows most illegal immigrants who reach the Colony to stay. There is usually no effort made to deport them unless they become involved in criminal activities or law violations.

There has been an insignificant number of immigrants leaving Hong Kong. Neighboring countries in South East Asia are unwilling to re-admit refugees who had left for China in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Few have industrial skills, some are elderly, and the illiteracy rate is high - not an appealing combination for underdeveloped countries.[69]

There has also been little movement of refugees to Taiwan. The Taiwan Government has a lenient immigration policy. When an applicant has a Certificate of Identity in Hong Kong, they can usually be processed within one to three months.[70] Most refugees feel more secure in Hong Kong, or prefer to immigrate to countries overseas. The number of

refugees entering Taiwan in March,1974 was only ten to fifteen.[71]

In the past, there has been a limited amount of Oriental Immigration in the Western Hemisphere. This tendency has changed to some extent. Trudeau, for example, went to Peking in October, 1973, and negotiated an agreement with Chou En-lai to reunite family members from the two countries in Canada. Rather than have immigrants from China first enter Hong Kong, Trudeau gained permission to issue immigration visas directly in China.[72] The Chinese Communists in Canada now number more than 50,000. The largest concentration, approximately 36,000, are located in and around Vancouver, British Columbia. This area is reputed to have the largest Chinatown in North America after San Fransico. Many are descendents of the early arrivals who worked in mines, and the building of the Canadian Pacific railway.[73]

The United States substituted the national-origin quota system for the numerical limitation of the Immigration Act of 1965 (effective in 1967). There is now an annual maximum numerical limitation of 120,000 immigration visas for natives of the Western Hemisphere, and 170,000 for those of the Eastern Hemisphere.[74] Within this limitation, no more than 20,000 immigrants from any single country are permitted to enter the United States in a year. This law changed the previous quota of 105 Chinese immigrants per year. The increase in the amount of Chinese immigration has been

noticeable, rising from 4,057 in 1965 to 14,417 in 1971.[75]

Unless the legal and illegal immigrants to Hong Kong decline in number, which seems unlikely, the Colony Government will eventually have to make some major policy decisions. There are many international and local agencies operating to assist the refugees which does alleviate some of the financial burden on the Government of Hong Kong. But, one of the biggest problems the influx creates for the Government is its inability to accurately forecast the population increase upon which the social and economic programs are based. Most of these immigrants are still remaining in Hong Kong. Furthermore, the Colony consists of an extremely limited area, and the New Territories lease expires in 1997. This could exacerbate the already acute housing problem.

With the number of immigrants increasing the already immense population, the outlook is not favorable. Realistically, the Hong Kong Government will have to choose between two proposals. The first would be a continuation of the present liberal immigration policy. This is feasible only if foreign countries allow for more Oriental immigration, and aid programs to assist the refugees are increased. The second choice would be a harsher interpretation of Hong Kong's existing Immigration Laws. In this case, refugees would be returned to China, and with the trend of world-wide inflation, existing programs might suffer.

Hong Kong simply does not have unlimited resources to cope with the massive number of people arriving from

China. The Colony will eventually reach a saturation point.

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[19]Hong Kong, Department of Immigration, Hong Kong Annual Departmental Report for the Financial Year 1971-72, by W. E. Collard, p. 48.

[20]South China Morning Post, February 15, 1974, p. 1.

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[22]Statement by Henry Allen, op. cit., July 31, 1974.

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